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TRADITIONS OF PRECOLUMBIAN LANDINGS ON THE WESTERN COAST OF SOUTH AMERICA

By ADOLPH F. BANDELIER

The origin of the people inhabiting the New World was one of the first problems that busied European minds as soon as it became realized that America was an independent continent. How could man have reached this land, that was so widely separated from the rest of the known world? In reality this question was not a new one, for it had been asked in regard to every distant island found inhabited by animals and plants as well as by man. Solutions had been proposed long prior to the fifteenth century—theories in harmony with the state of knowledge and with the religious fervor of the period. Among others, Saint Augustine, in the fifth century, speculated on the problem of how quadrupeds, such as beasts of prey, that are of no use to man, came to live on distant isles (I).¹ I wish to lay stress on these precolumbian speculations, for when the origin of the American Indian became the subject of investigation, the autochthonous theory was as freely discussed as any other. But the general trend of opinion in the sixteenth century was in favor of the belief that the “aborigines” of America were not in reality aboriginal, but that at some more or less remote period they had migrated from other sections of the globe. Many were the theories proposed in regard to the regions whence these migrations might have come; but this is not the place to discuss their relative merits.

The belief in an extra-American origin of the Indians has direct bearing on the value of Indian traditions, as recorded by Europeans who were under the influence of that conjecture, for it naturally led Spanish investigators, for example, to interpret any tale that might be construed in favor of the assumption that man came to America from the outside world. I am by no means favoring the hypoth-

¹ See the notes at the close of the article.

esis of an independent creation or evolution of the Indian on this continent. All I desire to call attention to is the danger of early Indian lore having been colored, by those who gathered it, so as to support a favorite theory. Such coloring is a serious obstacle to the critical use of aboriginal American lore supposed to embody historical information.

Among Indian myths that appear to touch on an extra-American descent of the natives in the western parts of South America, we must discriminate between (1) allusions to the appearance of strange individuals or groups of individuals, long before the epoch of Columbus but while the land was already peopled; (2) tales mentioning a primitive settlement of parts of South America from other parts of the globe; and (3) stories of landings on the western coast of the southern continent.

The tale of Tonapa (sometimes identified with Viracocha), in the interior of Peru and Bolivia, has already been discussed by me, so far as the scanty material and its nature permitted (2). The Tonapa story, in its later version by Calancha, begins in Brazil. It tells of the wanderings of two white men, at a time quite remote, but still after the beginning of our era. These white travelers are reputed to have landed on the Brazilian shore, whence they pushed inland, preaching to and teaching the natives after the manner of Christian apostles or missionaries. They are accredited with accomplishing the portentous journey through southern Brazil, Paraguay, and northern Argentina into western Bolivia, where, near the shores of Lake Titicaca, one of them suffered death at the hands of the natives, while the other pursued his way to the Pacific and there disappeared. This version, however, dates from the middle of the seventeenth century (3), and extends the scope of the original Tonapa or Viracocha lore obtained in southern Peru and in Bolivia. It bears the stamp not merely of confirmation, but of explanation and adaptation to Christian legends about apostolic labors in remote corners of the earth. The early, hence more authentic, versions of the Tonapa and Viracocha story, heard not later than sixteen years after the arrival of Pizarro, and probably even within a decade of that event, either represent the origin of that mysterious individual from Lake Titicaca (not necessarily from the island of that

name) or make him appear on the Bolivian plateau from the south and to direct his steps toward the north where, on the shores of Ecuador, he disappears, together with his companions, on the waters of the ocean. In the heart of Peru a similar tradition was found among the Indians at an early date, and while these tales must be accepted *cum grano salis*, they may have had their nucleus in original recollections that already had become veiled and distorted prior to the sixteenth century.

The traditions of central western Peru differ partly from the tales of Tonapa-Viracocha in that they also mention a *settlement* of strangers. The report of the Augustines on their investigations among the Indians of Huamachuco between 1552 and 1561, states that most of the settlers perished and that the few survivors were driven out of the country. But this part of the story appears to be distinct from the tale of white "teachers" of the Tonapa legend, and to refer to another set of individuals (4). The term "culture-heroes" has been introduced into American ethnology for such personages. In this case their labors would have left few, if any, cultural traces.

Almost parallel with the Tonapa and Viracocha lore is the myth of Bochica or Nemtherequeteba (Nemtherequeteba), also called Zuhé, among the Muysca or Chibcha Indians of Colombia. The four names apply, according to Piedrahita, to one individual. Fray Pedro Simon, who wrote somewhat earlier, discriminates between Bochica and Nemtherequeteba. Piedrahita asserts that, according to Chibcha tradition, Bochica "came" to the plateau of Bogotá — whence, he does not state. He describes him as with a long beard and wearing long garments, as having walked with bare feet and gone about preaching and teaching the Indians a better mode of life. At Sogamoso, in the Colombian highlands, Bochica lived two thousand years, and died there after performing many miracles, among which the opening of the cleft at Tequendama is most conspicuous. There is a certain analogy between this personage and Tonapa or Viracocha. In Peru, as is well known, the Indians called and still call the whites *Viracochas*. Piedrahita asserts that the surname Zuhé, given to Bochica, was used by the Chibcha to designate the first Europeans they saw (5).

Simon has Nemtherequeteba (whom he also calls Zuhé) reside east of the Bogotá plateau, in the Orinoco region of Venezuela, for fourteen hundred years. Thence he went to the Colombian tableland, disappearing about Sogamoso (6). His personal appearance is described in the same manner as by Piedrahita, but the miracle at Tequendama Simon ascribes to Bochica (7). The former remarks: "And some say that there was not one stranger alone, but three, who at distinct times entered preaching, but the most common and usually believed is that there was but one with the three surnames mentioned." (8)

Elsewhere I have called attention to the possibility of these traditions not being fully primitive.

The Jesuit missionary Father Anello Oliva was a contemporary of both Simon and Piedrahita. He spent forty-five years of his life in Peru and in what is now Bolivia, the latter being the scene of his apostolic labors for many years (9). It is not known that he ever paid attention to Colombian topics. It is strange, therefore, that Oliva represents the peopling of South America as having taken place from the side whence the mysterious white men are said to have reached the Bogotá plateau, namely, from the east. The chief sources of his work were, according to his own statements, some writings of Father Blas Valera from the second half of the fifteenth century, and especially stories related to him by an Indian from Cochabamba in central Bolivia. This Indian, whose name was Catari (an Aymará word signifying "snake," "viper," a venomous serpent in general, distinguished from the innocuous kinds which the Aymará call *aseru*), was particularly well versed in ancient lore of the Inca tribe; hence it appears unlikely that Oliva should have gathered information, at least directly, from Colombian sources (10).

According to Oliva the first settlers of South America landed on the coast of Venezuela near where the city of Caracas now stands, whence they gradually spread over the continent, reaching, among other places, Santa Elena in Ecuador, where they settled. Of these settlers some bands in course of time traversed the coast southward, occupying Tumbez and Lima. While these immigrants from eastern South America were establishing themselves on the coast of Ecuador and Peru, there took place at

Santa Elena a landing of "giants." What Oliva says of the fate of these giants appears to have been taken almost literally from Cieza and Zárate. To this I shall refer later. After the reputed destruction of the intruders by fire from heaven, the settlers on the coast continued to extend their excursions with more or less success: some went in the direction of Chile and the straits of Magellan, and were not heard of again; others settled at various points on the Peruvian shore; still others penetrated inland and reached Lake Titicaca and the Cuzco region. It is noteworthy that these reputed settlers from the coast found the interior already inhabited and the shrine on Titicaca island in full operation (11).

Assuming, for the present, that Oliva reported primitive, hence genuine, Indian lore, the following appear to be the essential points of his tales:

(1) The earliest landing in Venezuela, therefore in northeastern South America.

(2) A gradual spread over the northern sections to the westward as far as the coast of Ecuador.

(3) Coast voyages thence to the south as far as the southern extremity of the continent.

(4) After the settlement on the western coast had been effected and some of these voyages were in progress, there took place a landing, from parts unknown, of strange people who were destroyed by some cataclysm and left no impression beyond some remains and recollections of their appearance.

(5) A gradual spread from the coast to the eastward into sections that were already peopled.

The first part of this story recalls *Colombian* traditions, while the landing of the so-called giants is a *local* tale heard by the Spaniards on the shores of Ecuador at a very early day. The coast voyages also, as I shall show, were mentioned by Spanish sources half a century prior to Oliva's time.

Oliva acknowledges another source of information — "original papers" given to him by a Dr Bartolomé Cervantes, of Charcas, Bolivia (12). Under any circumstance all his knowledge is derived at second hand. It bears the stamp of compilation from various sides, as well as the impress of *adaptation* to the favorite belief in

the peopling of America from the old world. Parts of his material, so far as based on local tales, may contain a nucleus of primitive Indian recollection, but it is manifestly woven into a general story highly colored by European ideas.

Among Indian lore collected soon after the conquest, and therefore presumably genuine, there are traces of the drifting of tribes into the interior of Peru from the western coast. On this point Cieza states :

“They also relate what I have written in my first part, that on the Island of Titicaca, in former centuries, there were white men, bearded like ourselves, and that, sallying from the valley of Coquimbo, a captain whose name was Cari, he came to where now is Chucuito, whence, after making a few more settlements, he passed with his people over to the island and made such war on the people of which I speak that he killed all of them.” (13)

If the word “Coquimbo” is correctly rendered from the original text, and not one of the clerical mistakes that so frequently crept into copies of old manuscripts, then Cari and his men came from the coast of northern Chile. But, as in the case of those who, according to Oliva, would have reached Lake Titicaca from the Peruvian coast, they found the shores and islands of that lake already inhabited. Concerning the white men exterminated by Cari, Cieza fails to state whence they came, but he assures us that he heard the tale from an Indian who may have been well versed in ancient lore.

Montesinos, a contemporary of Simon, Oliva, Calancha, and Piedrahita, treats of the peopling of America in a general way, making the earliest settlers appear from every quarter of the globe, hence also from the South sea. In his own words :

“At that time, which as far as I have been able to ascertain was six hundred years after the deluge, all these provinces filled up with people. Many people came from the direction of Chile, others by the Andes, others by the mainland and the South sea, so that its coasts became settled from the island of Santa Elena and Puerto Viejo to Chile ; this can be gathered from the poetry and ancient songs of the Indians,” etc. (14)

Salcamayhua, an Indian writer of the same period, bases, as he claims, on original lore preserved by the Indians of “Orcasuyo, between Canas and Canchis of Collasuyo,” the traditions which he says he heard from his father and other old men. He relates :

"They say that, in the time of *Purunpacha*, all the nations of Tahuantinsuyo came from the direction of above Potossi in three or four armies ready for war, and so they came settling, occupying the places, every band remaining on unoccupied lands." (15)

This hints at a movement of tribes from south to north, in upper Peru and Bolivia. How far the tales are genuine, that is, wholly pre-columbian, is not yet easy to ascertain. Salcamayhua makes most fervent protestations of Christianity, so fervent, indeed, that there arises a suspicion of the infiltration of many European elements in his version of native lore. It is particularly marked in what he relates of the person, travels, and deeds of Tonapa (16). And he merely mentions some migrations to the interior of the continent, without stating whence the settlers originally came.

Pedro de Cieza remarks in a general way: "In Peru the Indians speak of nothing else than that the ones came from one part [direction] and the others from another." (17)

Similar to the stories preserved by the Augustine missionaries, in the sixteenth century, are tales recorded by Miguel Cabello Balboa in his "Antarctic Miscellany" concluded in 1586. But he also furnishes a long story to the effect that South America, or at least the coast of Chile, was peopled originally by pirates from the East Indies. To Balboa I shall return later, having yet to refer to some traditions found in the interior of Peru, likewise in the second half of the sixteenth century and recorded in the year that Balboa finished his work, hence they are either a coincidence or Balboa obtained them from the same source or was told of them by the authorities of Guamanga, who wrote the report on the "Repartimiento de los Rucanas Antamarcas," dated January 27, 1586. This report contains the following statement:

"The old Indians say that they have notice from their forefathers, by hearsay, that in very remote times, before the Incas ruled them, there came to this country people whom they called *Viracochas*, not many of them; and that the Indians followed them, listening to their speech, and now the Indians say they were Saints."

I call attention to the last phrase—that *now* the Indians call these people "Saints." (18)

Returning to Miguel Cabello Balboa, it is noted, as before stated,

that he attributes the settlement of southern Chile to pirates from the East Indies, whom he calls *Nayres*. He traces the career of these people over nearly the whole eastern world, making a part of them finally land near the southern extremity of America. According to Balboa they were "the origin and trunk of the Indians of Chile, from whom also descend the Chiriguanaes, or (rather) Chiliganaes. By these were made those strange fortifications that in Ayavira and Tiaguanaco (and in other parts of this section of the world) are seen," etc. After the "*Nayres*" had "conquered the austral regions, they penetrated inland and were never afterward heard from. Their intrusion in these our Indies is conjecture, for the reason that old Indians state they have it from ancient traditions of their forefathers, who told them that from that part of the world there came these pestiferous tyrants [the *Nayres*], and those of Chile say the same, pointing out that they came from this side of the straits which we call of Magellan." (19)

While the eagerness displayed by Balboa to defend a favorite theory renders his statements liable to suspicion, it is worthy of investigation whether the tales are genuine or not, but I have not at my command the material necessary. While in Peru Balboa joined the order of the Jesuits and was a contemporary of Acosta and of the Dominican Fray Gregorio Garcia (20). Neither of these, in their classical works on America, makes any mention of his story, a lack manifestly due to their being unacquainted with the "*Miscel-lany*," only a part of which, to this time, has appeared in print as a French translation by Henri Ternaux-Compans.

But Cabello Balboa does not confine himself to ancient lore of a *general* character; he also has preserved what bears every mark of being a genuine local tradition of Indians from the northern Peruvian coast. According to him, the aborigines of the villages of Motupe and Lambayeque said that "in times very remote, so remote that they cannot count them, there came from the upper parts of this Piru, with a great fleet of rafts, a mighty warrior, of great valor and many qualities, called *Naymlap*, and he had with him a number of concubines, the principal of whom they say was called *Ceterni*; and with him and in his company he brought many followers whom he led as captain and leader. This chief *Naymlap*, with his entire

retinue, landed and disembarked at the mouth of a river (now called Faquisllanga, where they abandoned their rafts and penetrated inland." (21)

This indicates a coastwise expedition, possibly from some point on the shores of Ecuador, as far as the vicinity of Chiclayo and Lambayeque. It recalls the coast voyages told of by Oliva, and seems to confirm them. There is no apparent connection, however, between the sources of Balboa (who alludes to direct Indian information from tradition) and those mentioned by Oliva; nor is it said that the people led by Naymlap were of extra-American issue.

When Pizarro first visited the coast of Ecuador and the north-western extremity of Peru, he sent the pilot Bartolomé Ruiz with one of his frail craft to explore the southern coast for two months. Ruiz coasted as far as southern Ecuador and perhaps to the latitude of the Peruvian boundary, although it is not possible to determine the southern limit accurately. While on this voyage he captured a craft, carrying about twenty men, which he describes as follows:

"This vessel which I say he took, appeared to be of as many as thirty tons; it was made after the manner and [with] a keel of canes as thick as posts, bound together by ropes of a kind they call eneguen [henequen], which is like flax, and the upper parts [bulwarks] of other canes more slender, bound with the same ropes, where they placed their persons and the merchandize together, as the hold was with water. It had its masts and spars of very handsome wood and sails of cotton of the same description, like those of our ships; and very good fishing tools of the same eneguen mentioned that is like flax, and for anchors stones after the manner of barbers' grinding-stones." (22)

After the return of Ruiz, Pizarro set out himself, and at Tacamez [Atacames] was met by fourteen large craft manned by Indians. "Balsas" (rafts) are frequently mentioned (23). A complete description of one of these large vessels is given by Father Bernabé Cobo. Although of the first half of the seventeenth century, hence a full century after the conquest, it agrees well with the indications previously quoted.

"The largest balsas used by the Peruvian Indians that live close to forests, like those of the ports of Payta [in Peru], Manta, and Guayaquil [in Ecuador], are composed of seven, nine, or more timbers of *palo de*

balsa, in this manner: that they tie them one to the other lengthwise with *bejucos* [lianas or creepers] or ropes, over others crosswise. The one in the middle is longer at the prow than the others, which become smaller in proportion as they recede on the sides; the middle one is longest at the prow, so that at the prow they are like the fingers of an extended hand, whereas at the stern they are equal. On these they build a platform of boards so that the people and cloth that go in it may not get wet from the water entering through the joints of the timbers. They navigate on the sea with sail and oars, and some are so large as easily to accommodate fifty men." (24)

An earlier description is that by the Licentiate Salazar de Villante, dating from about 1574. It refers only to the balsas used on the Rio Guayas without sails, but with as many as seven oars on each side, or fourteen oarsmen in all (25).

Oviedo never visited Peru, but gathered much information from Spaniards who had been with Pizarro at the beginning of the conquest. He speaks of the large rafts used by the Indians of the southern coast of Ecuador, saying that they carried on the sea as many as three horses. His description agrees very well with the preceding, mentioning sails and the oarsmen on the sides. South of Payta the craft, according to him, were made of reeds (26).

With such craft the short distance separating the mainland from the island of Puna, for instance, could easily be traversed. Long voyages along the coast were also possible. Of attempts to venture far into the open sea, I find as yet no traces.

The Jesuit Joseph de Acosta mentions canoes of seal-skin in which the Indians from Ica and Arica (the latter now pertaining to northern Chile) made long voyages "to some islands far away in the west," and he adds: "Hence there is no lack of indications that the South sea was navigated before the Spaniards [came]." (27) The islands visited by the Indians of Ica may have been the Chincha isles, to which the journey can be made from the port of Pisco in a comparatively short time. That these guano deposits were frequently touched by Indians in precolumbian times is well established. The islands that were reached from Arica are a matter of conjecture, but I should be quite loath to accept the vague statement of Acosta as a basis for assuming that the tales apply to voyages as far as Easter island or other distant Pacific groups. Distance is very

elastic in the mind of the Indian, and as no direction is given the trips may as well have been along the coast as to the west. Besides, the seal-skin craft mentioned could hardly have withstood wind and wave for many days beyond reach of succor. Cobo describes these craft as follows :

“They make them of two skins of seals, filled with air, which they tie together like the two fagots of which are made those of grass. Only one Indian goes in each, and he goes fishing in the sea as far from shore as in any of the others. But as these rafts are wont to collapse in the water, in order to prevent their sinking each Indian carries a hollow reed, and out on the sea he from time to time unties and blows them up again, like air-bags. They are as light and swift in the water as the substance with which they are filled, which is air. No sails are used, as little as with those of reeds ; only oars, as in the latter.” (28)

The only traditional record of a *landing* on the western coast of South America is that of the “giants,” near Punta Santa Elena in Ecuador. According to Zárate, it was known to the Spaniards prior to 1543, but not credited until the discovery of large fossil bones in that year furnished, in the light of knowledge of the times, an apparent confirmation. The finding of fossil remains of unusual size was not altogether accidental. The captain Juan de Olmos, lieutenant governor at Puerto Viejo in the year aforesaid, hearing of “all these things, caused excavations to be made in that valley, where they found such large ribs and other bones that, if the skulls had not appeared at the same time, it would not have been credible they were of human persons. . . . Teeth then found were sent to different parts of Peru ; they were three fingers broad and four in length.” Although these remains were found beneath the surface, it is possible that some skull had previously been seen by the Indians who founded thereon an “observation myth” (29). On the other hand, the tale may probably be a distorted reminiscence of some precolumbian occurrence on the coast of Ecuador.

It is not likely that the earliest Spanish discoverers of Peru had already heard of the tradition. Oviedo surely would have mentioned it, as he carefully recorded everything that came to his notice at the time. He conversed with Diego de Almagro on the return of the latter to Panama from the first expedition in 1527 ; in 1534 he questioned several of the returning members of Pizarro’s corps,

on the island of Santo Domingo, and in 1536 conversed with Pedro de Alvarado. Had any of these mentioned the "giants," Oviedo would not have failed to note it in his voluminous work. It is therefore likely that the Spaniards first heard of the tradition between 1536 and 1543 (30).

The earliest reports on the "giants" are by Cieza and Zárate, printed in 1553 and 1555, respectively. The former says:

"The natives tell, from what they heard through their forefathers, who heard and had it from far back, that there came by sea in rafts of reeds after the manner of large boats, some men who were so tall that from the knee down they were as big as the full length of an ordinary fair-sized man, and the limbs were in proportion to their bodies, so misshapen that it was monstrous to look at their heads, as large as they were, and with the hair that came down to the shoulders. The eyes they give to understand were of the size of small plates. They affirm that they had no beards and that some were clad in skins of animals, while others came as nature made them, and there were no women along. Arriving at this point, and after making on it their settlement in the form of a village (even at the present day the sites of the houses are known), they did not find water, and in order to supply the need thereof, made some deep wells, a work that is certainly worthy of remembrance, performed by as strong men as it is presumed they were, judging from their size. And they dug these wells in the live rock until they found water, and afterward lined them with stone to the mouth, in such manner that they will last for many ages, in which [wells] there is always good and savory water, and always so cold that it is a great pleasure to drink it. Having thus established themselves, these tall men or giants, and having these wells or cisterns out of which they drank, they ate and wasted all the food they could find in the land, for each one of them consumed more than fifty of the natives of the country, and as the supply was not sufficient for them, they killed much fish in the sea by means of their nets and contrivances which, it stands to reason, they must have had. The natives abhorred them, for they killed their women in making use of them, and the men they killed for other reasons. The Indians did not feel strong enough to kill these new people that had come to take their country and domain, although great meetings were held to confer about it; but they dare not attack them. After a few years, the giants being still in the country, and having no women, and those of the Indians not suiting their great size, or because it may have been by advice and inducement of the

demon, they resorted to the unnatural vice of sodomy, which they committed openly in public, with no fear of God and little shame of themselves." (31)

Then followed the punishment of which I shall treat at length in a subsequent paper — an angel appeared in a mass of fire from heaven and killed them all. Cieza is fully convinced of the truth of the story and refers to the large fossil bones in evidence, showing that he obtained his data after 1543.

Agustin de Zárate differs but little from Cieza in his main statements, except that he does not mention their landing on the coast (32).

After these two primitive sources, the tale was often repeated, with slight variations (33). I shall refer to only a part of one of the later versions, contained in an anonymous description of the "government" of Guayaquil, dating from about the year 1605, apparently an official document by one who was intimately acquainted with the district. It says :

"They drink water out of wells, especially of one they call of the Giants which, according to the sayings of the ancient Indians, lived in that country, not as original inhabitants, but from other parts."

The fossil remains of large size are also alluded to : "They are chiefly preserved in the deposits of pitch, of which there are few." (34)

It thus seems that the tale of the landing of so-called giants on the coast of southern Ecuador is a genuine Indian tradition from a period antedating the sixteenth century. It appears also that it refers to people entirely distinct from the American natives ; but we are at a loss to find even an inkling as to whence these people may have come.

Under these circumstances it is at least premature to attempt conjectures as to the part of the globe whence the so-called giants came. If their original home lay beyond the American continent, some of the island groups of the South sea might be considered as affording the answer. How far the craft in use by the islanders might have enabled such long voyages, and in what manner oceanic currents and winds might have favored or impeded them, are subjects for investigation on the islands themselves.

It is possible that the strange beings came from some point on the western coast of America, although the marked difference in appearance between them and the coast Indians of Ecuador would rather indicate an extra-American origin.

The large stature attributed to the intruders should not be taken too literally. During the course of many ages traditional personages easily assume exaggerated proportions. The Indians of Ecuador and Peru are of low stature, comparatively speaking, and anyone above their average height becomes, in their eyes, first a tall, later a very tall man. If to unusual size, hostile demeanor is added, after a lapse of time aboriginal lore converts him into a monster, morally and physically, and it is in some such sense that the term "giant" should be understood—a being with superior physical power and destructive tendencies. As for the manner in which the "giants" came to be exterminated, it may be said that, while the natural phenomenon described in connection with their destruction seems to indicate the fall of a meteorite of unusual size, the possibility of some volcanic disturbance should not be excluded.

NOTES

1. *De Civitate Dei*, cap. 7, lib. xvi.
2. The Cross of Carabuco, *American Anthropologist*, vi, No. 5, 1904.
3. *Corónica moralizada del Orden de San Agustín en el Perú*, vol. 1, 1638, lib. II, cap. II, III, IV; also cap. x on Viracocha.
4. Having frequently quoted, in previous papers, the sources to which I must refer, I abridge titles in order to save space and to avoid repetition. The report of the Augustines is in vol. III of the *Documentos inéditos de Indias* under the title "Relacion de la Religion y de los Ritos del Perú," etc. The passage is found on p. 22: "Pues finge el demonio, y los indios lo tenian muy creido, que Ataguju envió á el mundo desde el cielo á este Guamansuri, y este vino á el mundo á la provincia de Guamachuco, que de allí se habia de començar, y quando vino halló en él cristianos, que en lengua de Guamachuco se llaman *Guachemines*, y él andaba muy pobre entre ellos. Y los guachemines le hacian trabajar y hacer sus chacaras: tenian estos guachemines una hermana, que llamaban *Cantaguan*, la cual tenian muy encerrada que no la veia nadie; y un día fueron los hermanos fuera, y entonces Guamansuri fué á ella y con halagos y engaños la hubo y empreño. Y como los hermanos guachemines la vieron preñada y supieron el negocio, y que Guamansuri habia sido el estrupador y agresor, prendiéronle y quemáronle y hiciéron le polvos; y dicen los indios que los polvos se subieron al cielo y que se quedó allá con Ataguju; y por esta causa por entonces no hobo la erecion de los indios y á

ella pusieron á muy buen recabdo." This bears a suspiciously Christian tinge. (p. 23): "Y entonces dice quel fuerte mancebo mató á los guachemines, y á algunos que quedaron echóles de la tierra." The story of the followers of Viracocha, or Tonapa, is entirely different. Compare Juan de Betanzos, *Suma y Narracion de los Incas*, cap. II, p. 8. From the report of the Augustines it would seem that the "Guachemines" inhabited the country before the Indians, for Catequil, who was the son of Cantaguan, killed the so-called Christians: "Entonces subióse al cielo y dixóle á Atagujú: 'ya la tierra está libre y los guachemines muertos y echados de la tierra, agora te ruego que se crien indios que la habiten y labren.'" Thereupon Atagujú (to whom creation is attributed) directed Catequil to go to a height between Lima and Truxillo, "y que fuesen á el dicho cerro y cavasen con taquillas ó azadas de plata y oro y de allí sacaria los indios y de allí se multiplicarian y se multiplicaron todos; y así se hizo y que de allí salió su principio." Hence the "Guachemines" occupied the region *before the Indians*. Their identification with "Christians" is certainly posterior to the conquest and invented by the Indians to explain and excuse, to a certain extent, their opposition to the Christian faith. This results plainly from p. 24: "Lo segundo es que dicen los indios, que porque los indios mataron los guachemines y los echaron, agora los cristianos son sus enemigos y les hacen tanto mal y los roban y toman sus mujeres y haciendas; y por esto ellos son nuestros enemigos, y el demonio, porque mataron los guachemines á Guamansuri, quiere mal á los cristianos y los teme, y no querria que en cosa recibiesen la ley de los cristianos, y no hay que dubdar sinó que es grande el odio que nos han tenido." The traditions about "white men" from the vicinity of Ayacucho, and the tales connected with the ruins of the Rio Vinaque, will be treated farther on. They bear some analogy to the Huamachuco stories.

5. Lucas Fernandez de Piedrahita, *Historia general de las Conqvistas del Nvevo Reyno de Granada* (1688, lib. I, cap. III, p. 17): "Tenian alguna noticia del diluvio, y de la creacion del mundo; pero con tanto adiccion de disparates, que fuera indecencia reducirlos a la pluma: y comunicados en esta materia referian, y lo hazen al presente por tradicion de vnos en otros, que en los passados siglos aportó a aquellas regiones vn hombre estrangero, a quien llaman vnos Nemquetheba, otros Bochica, y otros Zuhé, y algunos dicen, que no fue solo el estrangero, sino tres, que en diferentes tiempos entraron predicando; pero lo mas comun, y recibido entre ellos es, que fue vno solo con los tres epitetos referidos. Este tal, dicen, que tenia la barba muy crecida hasta la cintura, los cabellos recogidos con vna cinta como trença puesta a la manera, que los antiguos Fariseos vsaban los Philacterios, ó Coronas con que se rodeaban las cabezas. . . . Andaba este hombre con las plantas desnudas, y traia vna Almalafa puesta, cuyas puntas juntaba con vn nudo sobre el ombro; de donde añaden aver tomado el traje, el vso del cabello, y de andar descalços" (p. 18). He preached to the Indians and, "del Bochica refieren en particular muchos beneficios, que los hizo, como son dezir, que por inundaciones del rio Funzha en que intervino el arte de Huy-

tháca, etc." The miracle of Tenquendama follows (p. 19): "Ultimamente afirman del Bochica, que murió en Sogamoso despues de su predicacion; y que aviendo vivido alli retirado veinte vezes cinco veintes de años, que por su cuenta hazen dos mil, fue trasladado al cielo." . . . "El averle dado entre otros el epiteto de Zuhé, que es el mismo, que dieron despues a los primeros hombres blancos, que vieron en las conquistas." On the heels of Bochica there appeared a very beautiful woman who, however, was as bad as Bochica was good, and whom the latter, according to some, converted into an owl, or into the moon according to others (p. 18). This woman is sometimes called Huytháca, again Chia and Yubecayguaya. To her evil arts the inundation of the Rio Funzha is attributed. I have elsewhere called attention to the difficulty of determining whether these traditions, as told in the seventeenth century, existed as early as 1536, when the first contact of the Chibchas with the whites took place. The writings of the conqueror Quesada, finished in 1539, preserved in manuscript in the national historical archives of Spain, can alone throw light on this question. The title of this precious document is *Epítome del Nuevo Reino de Granada*. See Jiménez de la Espada, *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, vol. I, p. xlv, "*Antecedentes*."

6. *Noticias historiales de las Conquistas de Tierra firme en las Indias occidentales* (MS. in the Lenox branch of N. Y. Public Library; pt. II, noticia IV, cap. 3, p. 261): "A q^e ayuda mucho una tradicion certissima q^e tienen todos los de este reyno, de haver uivido en el veinte hedades y cuentan en cada edad 70 años, un hombre no conocido de nadie ya mayor en años y cargado de canas, el cabello y barva larga hasta la cintura cogida la cabellera con vna cinta. . . . Dicen q^e vino por la parte del Leste q^e son los llanos q^e llaman continuados de Venezuela, y entró á este reyno por el pueblo de Pasca al sur de esta Ciudad de S^{ta} Fé." . . . (p. 262): "Desde alli vino al pueblo de Boza donde se le murió vn Camello q^e traía, cuyos guesos procuraron conservar los naturales, pues aun hallaron algunos los Españoles en aquel pueblo quando entraron, entre los quales dicen q^e fué la costilla q^e adoraban en la laguna llamada Bozassio: los Indios de Boza y Suacha, á este pusieron dos ó tres nombres segun la variedad de las lenguas q^e havia por donde pasaba." On p. 265 he describes the wanderings of that man over the highlands of Bogatá, preaching.

7. *Noticias historiales*, MS. pt. II, not. IV, cap. IV, p. 266.

8. Piedrahita, *Historia general de las Conquistas*, p. 17. Simon, *Noticias historiales* (pt. II, not. IV, cap. IV, p. 264) says of Bochica: "El Bochica era Dios mas universal y aun casi Señor de este otro."

9. According to Enrique Torres Saldamando (*Los antiguos Jesuitas del Perú*, Lima, 1882, p. 107), Oliva was a Neapolitan and came to Lima in 1597, where he was consecrated and sent to Juli, on the shores of Lake Titicaca. He remained in Bolivia a number of years, chiefly at Chuquisaca (Sucre) and Potosi. In 1636 he was rector of the college of Jesuits at Callao. He died at Lima in 1642. His book, *Historia del Perú y Varones insignes en Santidad de la Compañia de Jesus*, was approved in 1631, the year of its completion.

10. *Historia del Perú*, 1719 (p. 5). He says of his Indian informant "pero mejor á mi ver hace relacion dellos el quipocamay y cacique llamado Catari viejo antiguo del valle de Cochabamba y hijo de los quipocamayos coronistas de los Reies Incas por que aunque admite," etc.

11. *Historia del Perú* (pp. 23-37). It would take too much space to quote the whole. He says, among other things: "Aportaron a Caracas, donde poblaron y hijieron alto: y de donde despues el tiempo adelante se fueron estendiendo en las demas tierras y prouincias de Peru. Destos primeros pobladores passaron algunos a las partes de Sumpa, que es aquel paraje que aora los Españoles llaman la punta de sancta Helena que esta en dos grados." He goes on to tell of several expeditions from Santa Elena to various parts of South America, including Brazil and Paraguay. After the "giants" had been exterminated, voyages were made farther down the coast as well as into the interior. The stories are confused, and there is such a mixture of pretended lore from Ecuador and from Peru that it presents an exceedingly suspicious appearance. Finally (p. 32), he causes Manco Capac to be born on the island of Puná, near Guayaquil, whence he coasted with his people as far as Lima, "y Manco con la gente que le siguió aporato acia la costa de Rimac." On account of a severe storm and earthquake Manco continued his voyage down the coast and went inland to the Collao. He found the Titicaca region already inhabited. All this does not read like genuine Indian folklore.

12. *Historia del Perú* (lib. 1, cap. 2, p. 23): "Y en el tiempo que estoy escribiendo esta vinieron a mis manos unos papeles originales, que me dio el doctor Bartholome Ceruantes, racionero de la Sancta yglesia de los Charcas en que halle con puntualidad lo que muchos años a e deseado saber."

13. *Segunda Parte de la Crónica del Perú*, cap. IV, p. 4.

14. *Memorias antiguas historiales y políticas del Perú*, p. 3.

15. *Relacion de Antigüedades deste Reyno del Pirú*, p. 234: "Dizen que en tiempo de *Purunpacha* todas las naciones de Tauantinsuyo benieron de hazia arriba de Potossi tres ó quatro exercitos en forma de guerra, y assi los venieron poblando, tomando los lugares, quedandose cada vno de los compañías en los lugares baldios."

16. Compare pp. 236 to 240, and his profession of faith, p. 234.

17. *Primera parte de la Crónica del Perú*, p. 453.

18. *Descripción de la Tierra del Repartimiento de los Rucanas Antamarcas de la Corona real, Jurisdiccion de la ciudad de Guamanga*, 1586, in *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, vol. 1, p. 210: "Respóndese al capítulo veinte y uno, que junto al pueblo de La Vera Cruz de Cauana está un pueblo derribado, al parecer, antiquísima cosa. Tiene paredes de piedra labrada, aunque la obra tosca; las portadas de las casas, algunas de ellas algo mas de dos varas en alto, y los lumbrales labrados de piedras muy grandes; y hay señales de calles." It may be that these edifices are those mentioned by Cieza (*Primera parte de la Crónica*, p. 434, cap. LXXXVII) as on the Rio Vinaque, "adonde estan unos grandes y muy antiquísimos edificios, que cierto, segun están gastados y arruinados, debe de haber pasado por ellos muchas edades. Pregun-

tando á los Indios comarcanos quien hizo aquella antigualla, responden que otras gentes barbadas y blancas como nosotros, los cuales, muchos tiempo antes que los ingas reinasen, dicen que vinieron á estas partes y hicieron allí su morada." If the ruins on the Vinaque are the same as those near Cauana, then the Spaniards must have heard the tradition shortly after the conquest.

19. *Primera parte de la Miscelánea Antártica* (MS. in the Lenox branch of the New York Public Library, fol. 257). The "Nayres" were originally from Malabar, I am informed by Dr Berthold Laufer, the distinguished student of eastern Asiatic anthropology. According to Cabello Balboa these Nayres, in the course of their depredations, came from Asia to Chile and "fueron el origen, y cepa de los Yndios de Chile, de quien tambien descenden los Chiriguanaes (ó mejor diciendo) Chiliganaes de estos fueron fabricadas aquellas fortalezas estrañas que en Ayavira, y Tiahuanaco (y en otras partes de este pedazo de mundo) se an visto," etc. (cap. 19, fol. 257). "Se metieron en a tierra austral, y de allí jamas se tuvo nueva y noticia de ellos La entrada que ellos añade [?] en las n^{ras} Yndias es congetura por las razones que los Yndios antiguos dan para tenerla por las antiguas tradiciones de sus mayores que les decian que de acia aquella parte del Mundo avian venido estos pestilentes tiranos, y la misma razon dan los de Chile señalando su venida de acia el estrecho aquién llamamos de Magallanes." This passage is confused. In the first place, Balboa says that nothing was known or learned about the "Nayres" after they had once penetrated inland, yet he attributes to them the construction of the ancient edifices near Ayaviri (probably the remains of Pucará are meant) and Tiahuanaco. Again, he intimates that the Nayres were the original inhabitants and settlers, whereas he also states that the Indians of Chile spoke of them as ruthless invaders. All this shows that he has arranged, but not objectively rendered, the traditions claimed by him to be original and primitive. What might possibly be gathered from his statements is that there existed in his time, among the Indians of Chile, lore, perhaps ancient, relative to landings on the southern Chilean coast of people coming from the direction of Asia. This is said with every proper reserve.

20. The manuscript of Balboa, in all likelihood, was not known to Barcia, the editor of Garcia's *Origen de los Indios*, 1729. In cap. XXIII, p. 247, Garcia treats of the possibility of an East Indian origin of the Indians of southern Chile, but he quotes as authorities Hugo Grotius (*Diss. I de Origin Amer.*) and Hornius (*De Originibus Americanis Libri quatuor*, 1652, lib. 1, fol. 55, 56), which indicates that the quotation is by Barcia, as the first edition bears date 1607.

21. *Miscelánea*, etc., (MS., pt. III, cap. 17, fol. 509): "Que en tiempos muy antiguos que no saben numerarlos vino de la parte suprema de este Piru con gran flota de Balsas vn padre de Campañas, hombre de mucho valor y calidad llamado Naymlap, y consigo traia muchas concubinas, mas la muger principal dicese averse llamado Ceterni, trujo en su compañía muchas gentes que así como á Capitan y caudillo le venian siguiendo. . . . [p. 511:] Este Señor Naymlap con todo su repuesto

vino á aportar y tomar tierra á la boca de vn Rio (aora llamado Faquis-llanga) y auiendo alli desamparado sus balsas se entraron la tierra adentro."

22. *Relacion de los primeros descubrimientos de Francisco Pizarro y Diego de Almagro* (in *Doc. para la Historia de España*, vol. v, p. 196). This document states (p. 193) that Pizarro and Almagro left on their expedition in 1525. He was at Panamá again in 1528.—*Informacion hecha en Panamá á pedimento de Garcia de Jarén*, Aug. 3, 1528 (*Doc. para la Hist. de España*, vol. xxvi, p. 259). If the craft captured by Ruiz was "de cabida de hasta treinta toneles," it was not much smaller than the smallest vessels of Pizarro. *Relacion de los primeros descubrimientos* (p. 193): Partieron en el año de 25 con dos navíos de cuarenta y setenta toneles y un bergantin pequeño."

23. *Relacion de los Descubrimientos* (p. 198): "Salieron á los dichos navíos catorce canoas grandes con muchos indios."—Pedro Pizarro, *Relacion del descubrimiento y conquista de los reinos del Perú* (*Doc. para la Hist. de España*, v, 215).

24. *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* (iv, 221): "Las mayores balsas que usan los indios peruanos que habitan cerca de montañas, como los de los puertos de Payta, Manta y Guayaquil, son compuestas de siete, nueve ó más maderos de palo de balsa, por este orden: que los atan á lo largo unos con otros con *bejucos* ó cuerdas sobre otros atravesados; el de enmedio es por la proa más largo que los otros; los cuales van siendo más cortos unos que otros cuanto más se apartan á los lados; de suerte que vienen á quedar en la proa con la figura y proporción que guardan los dedos de la mano extendida, puesto que por la popa son iguales; encima hacen tabladitos, para que no se moje la gente y ropa que va en ellas con el agua que les entra por las junturas de los leños. Navegan por la mar á vela y remo, y son algunas tan grandes, que caben holgadamente cincuenta hombres."

25. *Relacion general de las poblaciones españolas del Perú* (*Rel. geogr. de Indias*, I, 13): "Por este rio arriba hasta el Desembarcadero que hay diez y nueve leguas, se va en unas que llaman balsas; en lugar de barcos, y son como palos grandes atados uno con otro, ni más ni ménos que la escalera de una carreta, digo como una carreta quitadas las ruedas, salvo que van los palos juntos; el de en medio es más largo y es la proa de la balsa, en la cabeza del cual va siempre gobernando un indio, y á los lados van cada tres, ó cada dos ó cada cinco indios, segun son las balsas y la carga que llevan; porque algunos son de siete palos, y de aqui no suben: van llanas por el agua, que algunas veces las baña el agua, y los regalados y gente de respeto hacen poner unas tablas sobre unos palos atravesados, y allí van echados. Otras veces hacen poner á los lados unas estacas y atravesados palos como las varas de carreta, por si llevan niños no caigan en el agua; y así subí yo con mi muger y hijos; y por el sol hacen un dejadillo de paja, de manera que cuando esta balsa va así, parece una choza de pastores." These rafts recall the "callapas" in use on the confluence of the Amazon in eastern Bolivia, which, however, are usually two rafts attached at the sides and each with its platform.

26. *Historia general y natural de Indias* (vol. IV, lib. XLVI, cap. XVII, p. 222): "Son hechas de unos palos gordos é livianos tablados como vigas, é otros atravesados, en que van atados, é sus barbacoas enmedio, é sus velas latinas, é remeros por los lados con sus nahe."

27. *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (ed. of 1608, lib. I, cap. 19, p. 68): "Tambien cuentan los Indios de Yca, y los de Arica, que solian antiguamente nauegar a vnas Islas al Poniente muy lexos, y la nauegacion era en vnos cueros de lobo Marino hinchados. De manera que no faltan indicios, de que se aya navegado la mar del Sur, antes q^e viniessen Españoles por ella."

28. *Hist. del Nuevo Mundo* (IV, 220): "Hácenlas de dos cueros de Lobos Marinos llenos de aire, los cuales atan uno con otro al modo de los dos haces de que se hacen las de Enea. En cada una va solo un indio, y entran á pescar en la mar tanto trecho como en las otras. Mas porque estas balsas suelen aflojarse en el agua y descrecer, para que no se hundan, lleva cada indio un cañuto, y enmedio de la mar se pone de cuando en cuando á desatarlas y rehenchirlas á soplos, como si fueran pelotas de viento. Son tan livianas y ligeras en el agua, como la materia de que son compuestas, que es aire; nunca se les pone velas, como ni á las de Enea, y sólo se navega en ellas á remo, como en las primeras."

29. Agustín de Zárate, *Historia del Descubrimiento y Conquista de la Provincia del Perú* (In Vedia, vol. II, cap. V, p. 464): "Y con todo esto, nunca se dió entero crédito á lo que los indios decian cerca de estos gigantes, hasta que siendo teniente de gobernador en Puerto-Viejo el capitan Juan de Olmos, natural de Trujillo, en el año de 543, y oyendo todas estas cosas, hizo cavar en aquel valle, donde hallaron tan grandes costillas y otros huesos, que si no parecieran juntas las cabezas, no era creible ser de personas humanas; y así, hecha la averiguacion y vistas las señales de los rayos en las peñas, se tuvo por cierto lo que los indios decian; y se enviaron á diversas partes del Perú algunos dientes de los que allí se hallaron, que tenia cada uno tres dedos de ancho y cuatro de largo." The fact that the lieutenant-governor caused excavations to be made leads to the inference that the Indians suggested to him that the remains of the "giants" were buried. In the *Descripción de la gobernacion de Guayaquil* (*Doc. de Indias*, IX, 273) it is stated that the bones are specially found in the deposits of asphalt near Santa Elena, which are well known; hence it is not impossible that the Indians may have seen one or more of the skulls on the surface. That the remains are those of mastodons is made likely by the great resemblance that they bear to human crania of enormous size, as Prof. H. F. Osborne, of the American Museum of Natural History, has kindly shown to me.

30. *Historia general y natural* (vol. IV, lib. XLVII, p. 257; also pp. 146, 213, etc.). Since he mentions (p. 219) the asphalt deposits, he would have spoken of the "giants" had he known of the tale.

31. *Primera parte del Crónica del Perú* (Vedia, II, cap. LII, p. 405). The translation is not as literal as might be desired, yet it conveys Cieza's meaning, I hope, with sufficient adherence to his style.

32. *Historia del descubrimiento* etc. (Vedia, II, cap. v, p. 465): "No declaran de qué parte vinieron." He further says: "Vieron los españoles en Puerto-Viejo dos figuras de bulto destos gigantes, una de hombre y otra de mujer." It is in the vicinity of Santa Elena and Puerto Viejo that the carved stone seats have been found, representing human figures on all fours. Examples may be seen in several museums of this and other countries. The fact, mentioned by Zárate, that one of the carvings represented a woman, might militate against his assumption that it was intended to depict the mythical giants, since the latter had no women with them.

33. I would only mention Gregorio Garcia, *Origen de los Indios*, 1729 (lib. I, cap. IV, p. 35): "Dicen, que aquellos Gigantes vinieron por mar." Oliva, *Historia del Perú* (p. 25): "Ay tradicion que estos gigantes llegaron alli por mar en balsas."

34. *Descripcion de la gobernacion de Guayaquil* (vol. IX, p. 275): "Colonchillo está poblado en el puerto de la punta de Santa Elena, veinte y cinco leguas de Guayaquil y siete de Colonche, que es de donde se proveen de las cosas que les faltan; la tierra es estéril y sin aguas; beben de pozos, especialmente de uno que llaman de los Gigantes, que segun relacion de los indios viejos, los hubo en aquella tierra, no nacidos en ella, sino venidos de otras partes."